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A N

Impartial Enquiry

Into the

CAUSES

Of the PRESENT

Fears and Dangers

OF THE

Government,

Being a

DISCOURSE

*Between a Lord Lieutenant, and one of his
Deputies, Summoned to hold a Lieutenancy,
for Raising the Militia.*

L O N D O N,

Printed in the Year MDCXCH.

Imperial Endowment

CASES

of the

Government

DISCOURSE

by the Hon. the Lord Chancellor, in the House of Commons, on the 12th of May 1834.

LONDON:

Printed in the year 1834.

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Into the

CAUSES

Of the Present F E A R S and D A N -
G E R S of the GOVERNMENT,
&c.

DEP. *Lieut.* My Lord, I am glad 'tis my good Fortune to be the first that attends your Lordship upon your *Summons*, and I hope your Lordship will give me leave before your other Deputies come (in whose fidelity to the Government, I cannot much confide) to be informed by your Lordship of the Causes for putting the Country to this *New Charge*.

Pray, my Lord, are there any real fears of a *powerful Invasion*, as the Proclamation says? are we so weak at *Sea*, after so many Millions expence, that our *Ships* cannot secure us from any *foreign Invasion*?

We were perswaded, that no *French Ships* durst once look ours in the Face, and that we were to make a *Discent into France* with a potent Army; and the Parliament gave the utmost penny that was demanded, both for *Fleet* and *Army*, according to the computation brought them; and our Countrymen were made to hope, that our King would have been in *Paris* before *Michaelmas-day*; and nothing eased their Minds in paying 5 s. or 6 s. in the pound out of their Lands this year again, and a *quarterly Poll* beside, *never heard of before in England*, for themselves, their *Wives*, *Children* and *Servants*, but only their hopes, that these should be the *last Taxes*, that they

should ever pay, and that all the charge hereafter should be imposed upon *France*, and the *forfeited Estates* of our Enemies.

And my Lord are we come to that pass now, that both *Fleet* and *Army* cannot defend our *Island*, but that the *poor People* must again bear the charge of raising the *Militia*, as great as any of the *Taxes*?

Truly, my Lord, I dare not tell you, how the Country's murmur, nor what they say among themselves, but they talk strangely of our *making War abroad*, if we be not *safe at home*; and they begin to ask, why they are plagu'd with *quartering Soldiers*, and paying them besides, if they must be put to defend themselves?

But I must not tell your Lordship more of their talk; I hope your Lordship knows that there is no great danger, and that this *Su mons* for raising the *Militia* will go no further. Yet I will be plain with your Lordship the Country does say, if there be real danger, *the Government is betrayed*.

Lord Li. u. Sir, at your Request, I shall not refuse to give you the best satisfaction I can, knowing your Prudence and Fidelity to this Government, tho I shall only pursue my Orders to the *whole Lieutenancy*, to put the Country into the *best Posture* I can.

I dare tell you plainly, that there was *great danger* of the *Subversion* of the whole Government, than I could have imagined, and if it be *blown over*, it is to be ascribed to Nothing but to the *Divine Providence*.

It is most certain, That there was a deep and dangerous Design laid, as that *Monsieur d'Estre*, the *French Admiral*, should provide at *Thoulon* in the *Streights* (out of our sight, and free from our suspicion, whereof we could not well have Intelligence) a *potent Fleet*, fit to convoy and transport a great Army into this Kingdom and to bring that Fleet into *Brest*,

before the end of *March* last, and the *French King* had supplied the late King *James* with Money, Arms and Ammunition, and collected together 20000 *Scotch, Irish, English, French* and *Switz*, and assigned them quarters upon the Coasts of *Normandy* to be ready to imbarque upon the first Arrival of the Fleet from *Thoulon*, and from thence it was designed to pass directly to *Portsmouth*, and the Isle of *Wight*, which had not been a Work of many hours.

And had not the good God prevented that Fleet's coming by contrary Winds for *Five weeks together*, they had certainly compassed their Design, before any of the *English* or *Dutch Fleets* could have been at Sea, to have made the least opposition, and the late K. *James* his Agents, and such as are *treacherous to the present Government* had dispersed the Knowledge of this Design to their Confidants throughout *England*, and given Orders that they should be in readiness to *get together* in every County, upon the first News of the Landing of the late K. *James*, to disturb and distract the coming together of the *Militia*.

And to that purpose K. *James's* Adherents, and Men of desperate Fortunes, had bought up most of the *serviceable Horses* in all the Fairs of the Kingdom, and were come to such a height of confidence, as to boast of the Assurance they had of the *greatest Numbers* of the *Lieutenancy* of most Countries, especially the City of *London*; and of their Partakers among the Officers of the Army and Fleet, and of *great Numbers of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy*, that would immediately declare for K. *James*.

They bragged, with what reason I will not say, that greater Men than are fit to be named had *made their Peace with King James*, and taken their Pardons, and would be ready to declare, that they never served K. *William*, but according to the Statute of *Hen. 7.* as K. in Possession, owning the right to be in K. *James*.

Sir, This design being now known, appear

pears to me to have been so politickly laid, that I know not what could have prevented our ruin, if the Winds and the Seas had not fought for our preservation. I must confess, I often wondred, that the *Enemies of the Government* were so buify and so bold, that Justice seemed to be asleep, and their Enormities were connived at, and *many* of them were admitted into *Power* and *Trust*, and had *better credit* and acceptance with divers in *Authority*, than Men of the most *approved Fidelity* to the Government; yet before these Discoveries were made, I did not believe the *Government* had been so *near a Precipice*, that there wanted but a *favourable wind* to subvert it.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I am afrighted to see the danger we have escaped. But, pray my Lord, is there *no money* allowed for *Intelligence*? are there none that watch for the Safety of the Kingdom? is it possible, that Fleets and Armies can be provided invisibly? I doubt the Country has too much reason to say, that *their Majesties* are betrayed.

I must confess, my Lord, I have been troubled with *murmurs* and *Suspitions* of *that kind* from *understanding Gentlemen*, as often as I came from *Parliament*, but I always used the best skill I had, to suppress such thoughts and fears, and prayed their patience to expect a *finer Season* for *their Majesties* to suppress their *Enemies* and reward their *Friends*.

But the great Pressures of the Country, have been so long continued, and their hopes of relief so often deluded, that if I should now tell them (as your Lordship hath kindly told me) that they were, and are, in as great danger of utter ruin, as at the beginning of the *hopeful Revolution*, they would be out of all patience, and conclude positively, That *the Kingdom* could not be in such a *Condition*, if *their Majesties* *Councils* and *Designs* were not betrayed.

I profess, my Lord, I know not how to allay the Country's Jealousies of some in

too much Power with their Majesties, nor how to persuade them to bear this additional burthen of *raising the Militia* cheerfully, unless I could shew them a *speedy End* of their Sufferings, in the Safety of their Religion, Laws and Liberties.

I confess, my Lord, I have been, and am, as much troubled, as any of my Neighbors to see the conduct of their Majesties Affairs, ever since their Settlement, and have often thought they were betrayed from the beginning; and if your Lordship can spare me a few moments, and pardon my freedom, and let it be under the *Rose*, I will tell your Lordship, why I have so long doubted, that their Majesties are betrayed, and I beg your correction, if I mistake. I know your Lordship's Interest and Mine are involved in their Majesty's Government, and it is high time to consult our own safety, if they be betrayed.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I am glad of this opportunity to compare Notes; pray, be free, and let us inspect the *whole Administration* since the Revolution.

The *Commons in Parliament* (you know better than I, having been a Member there) have been complaining almost from the beginning, of *Ill and Unfaithful Instruments* about the King: Some they have named, and others they decyphered; and you may remember they sent to the K. to know who advised him to imploy some of the late K. James's Instruments in Trusts of *great Importance*; but they found no effect of all their Endeavours.

I have often sat in the *house of Lords* with an aking Heart to see good Proposals (for their Majesties and the Kingdoms security) opposed, and rejected by *pretended Favourites*; I believe, you have done the same among the *Commons*; therefore, if you please, we will look back upon the *whole Conduct*, and see what we ought to conclude from thence.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, You oblige me to speak my whole heart in this Affair, and I must

must confess my Fears of Treachery began as soon as I saw the Prince of Orange pass *Salisbury* without opposition, and with the Protestants great Applause.

I was afraid that those, who had been the *Kingdom's Enemies*, seeing themselves unable to resist the Prince, would either destroy him, or his good designs, by flatteries and false Insinuations. — I first observed an Attempt to bring him to a Treaty with the late King, and to stand upon equal Terms to the Judgment of the late King's Parliament, hoping to have shamed the Kingdom with such specious Concessions, for keeping out Popery, and redressing Grievances, that might have sent the Prince home again with a good Sum of Money, and fair Promises.

But the Cowardice of the late K. after Commissions for a Treaty signed, made that attempt fruitless, and brought him to be at the Prince his Dispose.

The next Treachery was, to persuade our Now King to have presently caused his Army to proclaim him King, and to have assumed to himself the Royal Office; presuming thereby to have kindled hatred and revenge in the hearts of more than those, whose Love he had gained by his Declarations for restoring our Religion, Laws and Liberties,

His Enemies knew, that his Force bore no proportion with the strength of the Kingdom, which would have had an Abhorrence of him and his Foreigners, and an Indignation to have been coked'd & cheated into such a perfect Slavery by him they trusted, who had appealed to Heaven, that his Soul abhorred such a design: But the Vanity and pernicious Consequence of these Counsels were so discovered to our King, that he escaped that snare, and chose to be advised by a Convention of all that had been Members of late Parliaments, who justly proposed, that the People should have notice to choose their Representatives to re-establish their Government.

In the Interim diverse of those, who had been the worst of K. James's Instruments, in his Designs against our Religion and Government, applied themselves to our K. with the most servile Flatteries and mean Submissions to gain an esteem with him, and admission into his Councils, hoping thereby to serve their own Master's Interest, when the Representatives should meet, and therefore craftily persuaded our K. from all courses that tended to the utter Exclusion of K. James, they insinuated bugbear Dangers of the scattering and dispersing of K. James's Army, and advised the gathering them into Troops and Companies that had dispersed themselves; and to bring our K. into Debt, procured his Promises of paying their Arrears, who were raised by K. James for the destruction of our Religion and Government.

At the same time, they were very buisy by false Insinuations, and (with too much unhappy Success) to prevent our K's acceptance of the repeated Offers from several Counties and Cities, to raise him Regiments of Volunteers at their own Charge, upon whose fidelity he might have absolutely depended.

At this time also the same secret Adherents to K. James endeavoured to keep his Authority alive in Ireland, and his possession of that Kingdom by the Lord Tyrconnel, they found ways to prevent the acceptance of the L. Tyrconnel's frank offers presently to resign that Kingdom which (tho then concealed) are since publicly printed by Dr. King in his excellent Book, Entituled, *the State of the Protestants in Ireland, under the late K. James.*

They craftily persuaded Tyrconnel, that his condition was desperate, and that there was no safety for him but in Arms, and gained time for him to new model the Irish Army (which were then for the most part Protestants) and to prepare that Kingdom to be a refuge for K. James and his French.

In this State of Affairs the Convention met, and *K. James's* Agents, and our *K's* now Flatterers, were very near betraying him to settle *K. James* in his Throne, and to provide for his *speedy Return*, under a shew of excluding him, they pretended to applaud and admire our *K's* Vertues, and to own the Kingdom infinitely obliged to him, and therefore proposed to make him *REGENT* of the Kingdom; as if they would have resigned all things unto his Conduct; but with the same Breath, they treacherously insinuated: *Divine Right in K. James* to hold the Crown, and insisted that there could be no lawful Authorities in the Kingdom that were not derived from him; which was to make their proposed *Regent K. James's* Officer; they set up *Conscience for a Stake*, alledging, that none could absolve the Kingdom from their *Oaths of Allegiance to K. James*, and sought to subvert all the Principles of the *Legal English Government*; by defaming and blackning for *Common-wealths-men* all that durst assert (as our Ancestors have done in like Cases) that *K. James* had broken his *Original Contract* and Oath with the Kingdom, and renounced his being an *English K.* bound by the Laws, when he declared in his Courts of Justice, and by his *Declaration* under the Great Seal, that he could suspend the use of all our Laws at his mere Will and Pleasure; they maintained that the Right of the Crown was inseparable from the Person of *King James*; so that all the Officers of the Kingdom must have sworn *Allegiance to K. James*, whilst our *K.* had born the Name of a *REGENT*.

If they had prevailed herein, as they were very near it, they had declared the *Kingly* Power to have been in *K. James* both by *Divine* and *Human Right*, and stript our *K.* of all *rightful Authority*, more than what *K. James* had been gratiouly pleased to give him.

This was the *Master-Piece* of Treachery against our *K.* in many that aspired to places of Profit, Honour and Trust under him as their now Master; And had

it succeeded, it would certainly have brought him under the Power of their Old Master, and themselves into their former Capacities, of pursuing their most pernicious designs against the Kingdom.

Truly, my Lord, I never think without some Horror of our Escape from this Treachery; they had made their Party above 150 strong in our House, and pray, my Lord, How was it in yours?

Lord Lieut. Sir, I cannot remember how many Lords were in our House, when it was put to the Question, *Whether the Throne was Vacant*; but my Soul was vexed to see how near we were undoing all that had been done for the Kingdom by our *K.* and as I remember we carried it, not by more than Three Votes, that the Throne was vacant, and the Kingdom in a condition to settle a lawful Government without *K. James*. Yet many now in Power about our King had the confidence to enter upon Record their *Protestations* against that Vote.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I was in hopes when both Houses had agreed that the Throne was Vacant, and the divisions in both were so well known to the whole Kingdom, that our *K.* would have so distinguished his Friends from his Enemies, that there would have been no danger of his believing their Flatteries nor giving them opportunities of betraying him to their Old Master; but I quickly observed, that they were so conscious to themselves of their former guilt in subverting the Government, that they could hardly believe, that either our *K.* or the People could forgive them, and therefore thought it their Interest never to cease their Treacheries against *K. William*, as every new Occasion offered, when they could not prevent the Settlement of the Crown upon our *K.* and *Q.* they seemed so zealous therein above others, that they would have heaped all Powers upon them confusedly, without mention or regard to the Kingdoms Rights, or the Antient Form of the *English* contracting with their Kings upon Oath.

They

They boasted themselves to be the *only Men for Monarchy*, that always defended the Prerogatives of the Crown; they would scarce bear a Bill for the *Peoples Rights*, as if they had been such Votaries to *K. William*, that they were content to make him their *absolute Lord*; but their *treacherous Intents* were evident, they sought for matter and occasion to suggest against him Ambition, Love of Domination, and Falseness to all his pretences made in his Declaration, that the *Peoples Liberties* should be secure, that they should never be in danger again to be invaded; they cunningly sought to sow the Seeds of Division between the *K.* and his People, by leaving the Powers of the Crown and the *Peoples Rights* undistinguished, intending (as their practice shewed) to raise new Disputes about Prerogative, and insinuate themselves into the Kings Favour, as the only Defenders of it, and none others fit to be trusted to support the Monarchy.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I perceive you carefully observe the Debates of your House and the Designs their secret Enemies had upon them, and you bring to my mind what I saw, that some Members of our House, who had *entered Protestations*, that we could not give the Crown to *K. William* and *Q. Mary*, were the greatest Opposers of the securities offered for the *Peoples Liberties*. But, pray Sir, go on, if you find any other Treacheries.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I find the same Party of Men deceitfully offering their Services at Court, but complaining that they were disabled by want of *Indempnity*, for what they had done in the late Reigns and were in continual danger of being prosecuted for their Estates, or Lives, by Men that would admit of no moderation, pretended, that some Members durst not displease the House in arguing for the Crown, as they would, whilst such *severe rods* were over them; therefore they often pressed and perswaded His Majesty to move the House to *hasten an Act of Indempnity* for them.

Lord Lieut. But, Sir, was there any *treacherous Intention* to our King in pressing for an Act of Indempnity? It was commonly thought and said, that it was the *only way* to unite all People to our King, and to take off their thoughts from returning to *K. James*, and for that reason it was absolutely necessary.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, no good Men doubted, that an Act of Indempnity was needful for quieting the Minds of thousands that had been *criminal* in compliance with *K. James*; but that nothing could be *more pernicious* to the future peace and security of our Government, than an *absolute General Indempnity* for all our late *K. James's* Ministers to forgive all *Treasons, Murders in Forms of Law, Suspensions of the Laws, Establishments of Popish Courts and Convents, surrendering and betraying of Charters, perversions of the whole course of Justice, and professedly laying Foundations for perpetual Popery and Slavery*.

For that reason, my Lord, the *Convention* took infinite pains *so to form* an Act of Indempnity as might have answered *all the Ends of Mercy*, yet with *due regard to Justice*, and the future Safety of our *K.* and Government.

They agreed in their Votes, that *few* should be *excepted* from Mercy as to their *Lives*, and as few as possible to their *Estates* and all other punishments.

They concluded, upon many Solemn Debates, first to Name the *several sorts of Publick Crimes*, for every of which, *some ought to be punished* for Examples sake, as lasting Monuments of Justice, either as to Life, or Estate, or Fines, or Exclusion from publick Trusts; but the Ministers of the Late Reign employed all their party to *lengthen out*, and throw *stumbling blocks* into the Debates, and applied themselves at Court to blast and scandalize the *Members of the Convention*, as Men that would *tear all to Pieces*, and come to no settlements:

ment, they accused them of Studying Revenge, and setting up a Faction, and keeping of those out, who would gladly come in to our K's Interest,

I have often seen, my Lord, those impudently whispering these Falshoods in our Court, who, I knew, did in private ridicule both our K. and Q. and drink their Confusion and Damnation; yet they so prevailed, that the Convention was blamed for Delays of Settling the K's Revenue,, levying Moneys, and doing nothing: whilst these *Secret Traitors obstructed every Business*, and studiously prevented the passing any Acts tending towards Settlement, that all might continue in distraction, whereby they hoped to advance K. James's Interest, and make themselves seem to be necessary to be favoured and employed by our K.

My Lord, They were so crafty in this Affair, that they found ways to flatter our K. with shews of *dependence upon his Clemency*, and to insinuate to him, that they would be content with an *Act of Grace and Pardon* from him, rather than longer to seek for an *Act of Indemnity* to clogged with Exceptions and Limitations, as the *Convention* proposed.

They crept into the Court, but were impatient till they were so indemnified, and admitted into places of Power and Trusts that they might overlook those whom they had oppressed before, and carry on their old designs in the former Reigns.

It was not easie to discern the *hidden Treachery* to our K's Interest, in seeking a thing so seemingly harmless as a *General Indemnity*; but the designers knew the mischievous consequences of it; they understood that it would amount to our K's *foraking*, or rather *renouncing* some of the chief declared Causes of his coming in Arms.

He had called God to Witness, that he came to Execute Justice upon those *Evil Ministers* of the late K's who had subverted the Government, to introduce *Popery and Slavery*. They knew that it would Prevent the Terrour in futurity of Exemplary punishments upon the greatest Traytors, which ought to have been one of our greatest securities of our Liberties and Lives against the Evil Mini-

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sters of our Princes. They foresaw, it would *Dishonour*, both the K. and Parliament who had declared *divers Barbarous Murders* to have been committed upon persons of honour, and worthy Defenders of our Liberties; whilst their *Murderers* should stand *indemnified*, and possess'd of some of the *greatest Authorities in the Kingdom*. They were well advised, that it would secure the *worst Instruments of the former Tyrannies*, to be ready to continue the like mischiefs, and to insinuate themselves into our K's Councils, upon pretence of their being *experienced in Government*, and always *Zealous for Monarchy*.

Lord Lieut. Sir, You make it plain, that the Root of all our Evils, and the Kingdoms present weakness and fears, had their first rise from the *false Notions* at first given to the K. of *things and Men*, and the advices thereupon against his own, and the Kingdoms Interest. But pray, Sir, what other *Traiterous Practices* did they use to deceive our K. by, to promote K. James's Interest against his own?

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, they advised his Majesty to influence such Members of Parliament as he could to *obstruct* the passing of the Bill depending for *Corporations*, whereby it was intended to *exclude* from the *Magistracy* for some years all the *principal Betrayers and Surrenderers of Charters* without the Cities and Town's consent, that by consequence all the Magistrates might have been chosen out of those honest *Englishmen*, that had hazarded themselves in opposing K. James his practices to subvert our Religion, Laws and Liberties.

Too much Credit was given to their false Suggestions made to the K. that he would create *Multitudes of Enemies* if such a Bill passed, and keep such quarrels and feuds as would set all the Cities and Towns on fire.

Now by this means most of the *principal Criminals* and K. James his Adherents were suffered to continue in the *Offices and Trusts* of all the *Corporations*, to be ready to choose *Members* for a *suceeding Parliament* like themselves, and none would be believed, that foretold the danger. The specious pretences of Moderation and Uniting Parties, seemed to lay the K's Cares of his own Safety asleep.

And truly, my Lord, the same Party were so careful to delude the K. to favour the Adherents of K. James in the Corporations, were no less industrious to inductate themselves into his Service and Impleyments, they were so prosperous in their flatteries, that in a short time, *most of the Powers and Trusts both Military and Civil came into the Possession of those that ought to have suffered in some kind as Criminals.*

Lord Lieut. Sir. You make me think how I was imposed upon in settling the Deputy-Lieutenancy of this County. I was told (by too good Authority) my List would not be approved at Court, if I left out those that had been put in by K. James, though they had too much served his Interest. It was said, that I was not to regard what they had been, and what they had done under K. James, if they would now take *Commissions* from our K. I ought to be for healing, and I must confess, I was so deluded, that if there should be now occasion for our Lieutenancy, I have reason to fear, the far greater part of them, would be more *studious* to promote K. James's Return, than to raise Arms against him.

I was troubled, that I was in a manner forced to have such Deputy-Lieutenants, whom I knew to have been *Enemies* to the Revolution; but when I advised with some at Court, whether it was fit to seek an Alteration? They bid me see the change lately made in London; That those who *most complied* with K. James to destroy their Liberties, and the very Being of the City, were made the major Part of the Lieutenancy; and the *Colonels*, and other *Commission-Officers* made by the first Lieutenancy after the Revolution, of such as had been *most faithful* to the City and their Countries Liberties, and *most zealous* for the present Government, were at once turned out by the New Lieutenancy, I was then hopeless, tho I dreaded the Consequence of making K. James's Party the Guard of our Deliverer from his Oppressions.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, The Michiefs you prudently foresaw of putting the Powers of our Country into unfaithful hands, are now seen and felt by every honest Man. But, pray, my Lord, do you not think, that

our K. was as much betrayed in the Councils given him about the *Reduction of Ireland*, when these sort of Men had got in his Ear? were not all their *advices directed to cherish and keep alive K. James's Interest in Ireland?*

I could never find any other reason, why *Forty Sail* of Stout Men of War, well equipped, delivered up by my Lord Dartmouth, and *Forty more*, which came with our K. from Holland, were kept in Port useless, when a Part of them might, *without resistance*, have possessed themselves of the Harbors of Cork and Kingsale in Ireland, being then neither fortified nor garrisoned, and that alone had prevented all the Designs of K. James and the French K. upon that Kingdom, and saved all that *vast Expence of Blood and Treasure*, which it hath since cost to reduce it, besides the Spoil and Destruction by War, which hath laid a great Part of that Country *wast and desolate*.

I dread the thoughts of the Account that must be given of three or fourscore thousand Mens Blood, needlessly spilt in that Kingdom.

If part of the Fleet had been thus imployed, the rest had been sufficient to have crushed all the first preparations of the French for a Naval War.

The two late Kings had so absolutely betrayed this Kingdom to France, that he had neither fortified Brest, nor St. Maloes, nor Sherborn, nor Havre-de-Grace, nor any of his Harbours in our Seas, unless we shall reckon Dunkirk for one, which was fortified by us, and then basely sold to him.

It had been an easie Work in the early Spring of 1689. (if the Advices of those faithful to our K. had taken place) to have burnt by surprize the French Ships in all those Harbours, which had secured our Merchants a free and open Trade, and put our Dominion of the Seas past all Dispute.

How many hundred Sail of Trading Ships would have been preserved by that means, to increase the Strength and Wealth of England, which now not only serve for *Trophies* to the French, but to augment the Strength and Wealth of that Monarch, and set up his People for Traders, and breeding Seamen, to make his Naval Force serve his Empire by Land?

Lord Lieut. Sir, Do not wonder, that the Fleet

Fleet was not made use of to the purposes you mention, which had utterly surprized both *French* and *Irish*; I can assure you the *Traiterous Advisers*, who had crept in to our Court had resolved, that it was most for *K. James* his Interest to have a *War*.

His *old Officers* in their usual Language of *Damning*, said, they must have a *War*, or else they might hang themselves. It was thought fit by the most crafty to keep things in *distraction*, to make the new Government more burthensom to the People than the old, to gain time to wear off the resentments of *K. James* his Tyrannies, to move pity in many towards him, and his pretended Son, to throw in *Scruples* in the Peoples minds about the claiming a *Succession* by *Divine Right*, and the *Lawfulness* of deposing of a *King*.

They knew that the *French* must have time to form a Fleet, and to supply *K. F.* with Arms, Men and Money to distress our *K.* in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and you cannot but remember by the Debates in your House, how delays were studied in the Preparations against the *Irish*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I can never forget the long Debates kept up in our House about Declaring the *Irish War*, the Sums to be given for that Use, the time for which they were to be continued, and the Arts used to lengthen them, and keep off the Conclusion; which could be intended for nothing but Delays.

In the interim, our *K.* was treacherously advised to send Colonel *Hambleton* to *Tyrconnel*, and to wait the Issue of his Negotiation; the effect whereof was his *Conjunction* with *Tyrconnel*, to disarm the *Protestants*, to form an *Irish Army*, and declare *War* against our *K.*

My Lord, we found no small difficulties to cross the treacherous Advices of Delay, and obtain from our *K.* a *Proclamation*, appointing a short time for the *Irish* to submit to his Obedience, or else to stand *Declared Traitors* and *Rebels*.

I saw, to my Grief, the faithful Duke *Schomberg's* Excellent Advice could not prevail, when he wisely proposed an *immediate March* of an Army for *Ireland* in the first of the Spring, to have passed through *Scotland* to *Port Patrick*, from whence they might pass to *Ireland* in a few hours; which

had secured the *Kingdom of Scotland* in their Passage, and had so surprized the *Irish*, they had never been able to have formed an Army fit to oppose us.

I observed that the *First Officers* commended to our *K.* to ingage in that *Irish War*, were of those that had served *K. James*, and in *Coll. Lundy* this first Tryal they were put *Major Tiffney* so near *London-Derry*, they shamefully shewed either their *Treachery*, or *Cowardise*, which encouraged the Enemy to undertake the *Bloody Siege* of that miserable Town.

It was, my Lord, by Advice of the same Stamp, that a *Commission* was obtained for Colonel *Lundy*, to be Governour of *London-Derry*, and to send two Regiments only for the Defence of that Town, and all the *Protestants* of the *North of Ireland*, when all the rest of that Kingdom was under *K. James's* Power; and the Officers so sent shewed quickly they be- *Coll. Richards* longed to *K. James*, and *Conningham* and resolved, together with the good Governour *Lundy*, to withdraw their force, and leave the Town for *K. James's* Service, and hastened again for *England*.

Our House indeed was sensible of the *Treachery*, and Examined the Officers themselves and others. and moved for *exemplary Punishment*; especially that *Lundy* should be tryed for his Life.

They were in Prison for a little while; and those that advised the Employment of them took care for their security and Liberty without the trouble of Tryals.

My Lord, It was no less than a Wonder that these treacherous dealings had not made *K. James* master of the whole *Kingdom of Ireland*; that a confused Number of *Protestants* in meer *Desperation* should throw themselves into a Town so deserted, resolving to sell their Lives at the dearest Rate they could, that Men unskilled in War should neither fear *Sword* nor *Famine*, when the strength of that whole *Kingdom* with the *French Auxiliaries* came against them; yet the result of the Advice then given, was to send *Major General Kirk* with Provisions, Arms and

Men, to relieve that *famishing People*; but when his Fleet was safe in [the River of London-derry, though the People in great numbers starved every day, he never attempted to relieve them, under pretence that the passage of the River to the Town was stoppt by Bombs, the Castle fortified, and the whole bank of the River strengthened with Breast-works, lined with Musqueteers.

But our House of Commons hearing that several thousands were starved in the Town for want of the Provisions sent, they examined the matter, and found by sufficient Witnesses, that when Major General Kirk arrived in the River, and for some time after, there was no Bomb, nor any thing like it; No Castle with a Gun in it, nor Breast-work, nor Musqueteer on either side the River, nor any thing that could have hindered his relieving the Town, if he had intended it; but it appeared, that he withdrew his Fleet, and Landed his Forces in an Island to secure himself, where he feasted and revelled with some of the principal Rebels, with whom he had lately served K. James: In the mean time the miserable People of the Town were left without help, until their own Courage and Conduct, with Gods assistance forced the Enemies to raise the Siege,

Lord Lieur. You so discover the ill Counsels from step to step, that I hope you kept a Journal of them. Pray did none blush, when your House was examining these Treacheries? Were none of the Councils changed, when the House shewed such *Jealousies* of the Managers of those Affairs, and complained of the *unfaithfulness* of the Ministers of State?

Truly, my Lord, K. James's Party grew so bold, that the souleest Action mentioned did not want an Advocate, that Party stuck to their point of delaying the dispatch of an Army for Ireland, and gave K. James the whole Spring, and much of the Summer of the Year 1689. to strengthen himself, and they applied themselves chiefly to get those that hated our K. in their hearts into the Offices, upon which the Success and Being of the Army depended.

They shewed themselves in the Provision of Horses for the Artillery and Carria-

ges, the buying Stores of Biskets, Meal, Oats, and Vittuals, the preparation of Transport Ships and Convoys, the Orders for marching the Regiments of Horse for that Expedition, and the Commissaries for the Stores for the Armies subsistence.

I say, my Lord, in the Conduct of all this, and the Choice of the Officers for them, there appeared so much Treachery, upon the Examination taken in our House about them, that many of us were afraid that the Armies would be betrayed into K. James's hand. Honest Duke Schonberg's Soul was so fretted by his long waiting at Chester, to get together but a small Body of Foot by the disappointments (thru' the pretended mistakes of Orders) of the coming of his Horse, by the unfitness of the Transport Ships to carry over the Artillery and Carriage-Horses, by the neglect of necessary Provision of Stores, and putting Wheat on Board instead of Bisket and Meal, by the favour of long expected Convoys, and other supplies, that the poor Gentleman chose to hazard himself with out a Convoy, and his small body of Foot, with few, or no Troops of Horse, and without any Carriage or Artillery-Horse to try his Fortune to get upon Irish Land, when the Winds would suffer him, being willing to run the utmost danger of perishing, rather than not to attempt some relief to the poor Protestants, and suffer the Treachery of those employed to hazard the reputation of his faithfulness.

Yet when the poor Gentleman (in despite of all their falsehood) had Landed his small Army, he could not pursue the Enemy for want of those Troops of Horse, and Carriage-Horses and other Necessaries left behind. But the Treachery continued in detaining them, and in letting the Carriage-Horses to hire for Plow and Cart about Chester, and that Villany enforced him to encamp at Dundalk, in the Enemies Quarters, and use his Excellent Conduct in saving so small a party against K. James's Numerous Army; tho' the unwholesomeness of the place, and the failure of the supplies expected, occasioned the Deaths of many worthy Gentlemen, and the miserable Sickness and sufferings of many more, and the loss of Ten thousand Protestants before the Spring following.

That

That *Treacherous* party had presumed to put the *Stores*, that were the Life of the Army, into the hands of some that were so *notorious* in K. James's Interest, that our K. was convinced of the Danger, and sent Orders to *seize the Stores*, and secure their persons, books and papers: And tho the K. and Parliament agreed there was too much reason for it, yet that party had such Interest and Favour to protect them, that their Offences are covered to this day, and they thought worthy of Trust.

Lord Lieut. Sir, upon our Review of this First years Administration, it is a wonder to me, that the K. did not see how K. James's party Flattered and betrayed him in his Councils and Management of his Forces; and whilst they pretended to come into his Interest to settle him, they had weakened him in Reputation, Treasure, and Force; and more unsettled him in Feb. 1689. then when he was first Proclaimed K. in Feb. 1688.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I cannot imagine what that party whispered to our K. to create in him a distrust of those that had been and were more faithful to him, nor how they gained such Credit with him, that rather than part with them from his Councils, he chose to disgust the principle Noblemen and Gentlemen who had hazarded their Lives and Fortunes for his Advancement to the Throne.

But it was so plain to our House of Commons, that the First Councils of the Revolution were declined, and all Affairs directed by the Advice of those who had been Instruments in the late subversions, that there were daily complaints of it in our House, and many Members spoke it out, that such and so many Miscarriages both at Sea and Land, could proceed from nothing but Treachery; from thence arose Debates about Addresses to remove those from his Councils, who had openly opposed the settlement of our K. and formerly betrayed England to France, and been declared by the Commons in Parliament Enemies to the Laws and Liberties of England, and that they ought to have been removed from K. Ch. II's Councils and Presence for ever.

But that party falsely suggested at Court,

that our honest Members intended to restrain Kingly power, and so cried out of the Danger for the K. to suffer his Servants and Ministers to be torn from him by Parliament, that at last they persuaded him it was his Interest forthwith to dissolve that GREAT CONVENTION; and to gratify their Revenge upon those who had discovered their Treacheries, they induced the K. to dissolve it suddenly, without those respects (of declaring his Intentions before hand, and advising to finish the several Bills before them) which all our K's who are well with their People, were wont to pay to Parliaments.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I think time hath made it manifest, that Treacherous Councils caused the K. to dissolve that Convention, and the time and manner of its dissolution surprized every man that had been active in the Revolution with a Sense of his danger: Yet I doubt some of us, that might have been heard, did not shew the K. so plainly as we ought, how he was therein betrayed, and the Ground cut from under his Feet by those wicked Flatterers.

He ought to have been told, that he destroyed his own Title and Claim to the Crown, by dissolving the Convention, before they had provided (by Oath or Subscription of a Declaration, as was proposed, or any other way proper for a Convention of the people to settle a Government when the Throne is Vacant) for the peoples general Allowance of the Right and Justice of the Now Settlement and for a perpetual Succession of Authorities to be derived only from them.

He should have been minded, that some of his own Council had asserted in the Convention, that the people could not make him K. and that there could be no Legal Parliament, unless called by K. J's writ, and the Members took the Oaths of Allegiance to K. J. as the Stat. of 5 Eliz. requires.

If he believed those his Councillors, he had no power to call a Parliament, nor was there any lawful Declaration that the Throne was Vacant, that all K. James's party were as much at Liberty to maintain his Authority, as when the K. Landed at Torbay.

It ought to have been told him, that the Authors of those Councils to Dissolve that

that *Convention* before *such a Settlement*, knew too well that they made himself *Cancel* all his *Proclamations* against the *Irish* as *R. bels* and *Traytors* to him, and all his *Commissions* given to suppress and subdue them as of *no Authority*.

They knew that by making the *Legality* of the *Acts* of the *Convention* doubtful, they revived the *disputes* concerning the *Collecting* and *Laying* the *publick Revenues* payable to the late *K's* and the *Legality* of all the *Taxes* imposed for the year 1689. which they were confident the *Judges* durst not have determined, not to mention more particulars, they gave a fair occasion for *K. James* to play his *Game* in *Ireland*, and to have sent out his *Writs* for a *Parliament* in *England*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, Has not your Lordship forgotten to mention *one part* of the *Cunning* of the *Treasonable Advice* to *Dissolve* the *Convention*? was it not to put it into the *power* of the *Corporation-Mn* appointed by *K. James's* *Charters* to *choose* the *greatest part* of the *M. mbers* of the *Parliament* they advised our *K.* to call?

When the *People* chose the *Convention*, those that had *betrayed* the *Liberties* of the *Corporations* were under the *dread* of their *own Guilt* and *Punishment*, and durst not oppose the *Favourers* of the *Revolution*; but they had then been so long *Sheltered*, and so many of their *Leaders* put into *Powers* and *Trusts* under our *K.* that they durst contest the *Validity* of *K. James's* *Charters*, and presumed to set up for *Members* of *Parliament*, *such* as they hoped would keep them in the *Powers* of the *Corporations* which they had gotten.

Lord Lieut. Sir, There were so many *Treacheries* in that *Advice* to *Dissolve* the *Convention* at that time, that they cannot be all *Named*. It *delayed* the *Relief* of *Ireland* for two or three *Months* of the *Spring* of the *Year* 1690. It lost those *Money-Bills* for that expedition which lay upon the *Table* almost *finished* by the *H.* of *Commons*.

It kept the *Forces* under *Duke Schonberg* in a *starving Condition*, unable to take the *Field* against the *Enemy*.

It prevented the *Provision* of a *sufficient Force* at *Sea*, and so retarded the *setting out* of our *Fleet*, as gave the *French* the

boldness to *enter* our *Channel*, and *Attacque* us almost in our *own Harbours*, with such *success* against us, and our *Allies*, as lost some *thousands* of *Lives*, and *many* a *good Ship*, to our *Eternal dishonour*.

The *French* had such *hopes*, that by *dissolving* the *Convention*, the *Power* of *K. James's* party was revived, that they braved it up and down upon our *Coasts*, and took up the *Harbour* where our *K. Landed*, and caused such *distrastions* in the *Kingdom* as cost at least a *Million* of *Money* in drawing out the *Militia*.

Yet among all the *mischievous Intentions* of this *Advice*, I take the *worst* of all to have been that kind of *necessity* which their *Councils* and *Management* of affairs put upon our *K.* to expose his *Royal person* to the *Suffering* and *Hazards* of that *Irish War*, from which they wickedly hoped he should never have returned; And we must all thank *God* for saving our *Deliverer* from perishing by a *Canon-Ball* that touched his *Body*.

Dept. Lieut. My Lord, I had never seen so clearly that our *K.* was *betrayed* in every thing, if I had not been chosen of this *Parliament*, and observed what sort of *Men* were bulie *without doors* in perswading the *Members*, that all the *Convention* did, ought to be *Null* and *Void*; and I heard mention made by *some Members* of *confirming* their *Acts*, and it was sharply replied, that what was *Void* from the *beginning*, could never be *confirmed*.

Many about the *Court* privately *Sollicited* the *Members* of our *House* to avoid the mention of the *Acts* of the *Convention*, saying, pray leave them as you find them, but their design was to keep up the *Notion* of *K. James's* *Right*, and to make this *Parliament* as well as the *Convention*, to be of *no Authority*, knowing that it is called, and sits only by force of the *Acts* of the *Convention*.

It was a happy head, that in order to a *Settlement* of the *K's* *Throne*, contrived the *Bill* to acknowledge, that *Their Majesties* were, are, and of *Right* ought to be, by the *Laws* of this *Realm*, our *Sovereign* *Liege Lord* and *Lady*, &c. and to enact, that all the *Acts* of the *Conventional Parliament*, were

were, and are Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom.

Yet, to my knowledge, there wanted not Whispersers to the K. that it was of dangerous Consequence to offer that Bill, and treacherously advised him to use his Interest amongst the Members of both Houses to lay it aside.

And pray, my Lord, may I not reckon among these Treacheries the Advices and Solicitations to our K. to send a general Bill of Grace and free Pardon, and without regard to Exemplary Justice, for those Treasons and Murders and other High Crimes committed before his coming hither?

I am sure the same sort of Men, that solicited against the security of the Government, were those that flattered his Majesty by that Act of Grace to provide for their Security, if it should stand; they not only deceived the K. of the great Forfeitures and Fines that ought in Justice to have born some part of the Charge of his Expedition hither; but have set all their Party at least upon Even Ground with the most Innocent Sufferers for their Country, to be preferred to all sorts of Magistracies and Authorities, and saved them from making reparations to multitudes, whom they had oppressed under colour of Authority in the two last Reigns.

I have heard some of them laugh at the Deceit put upon the K. by that Act of Grace, and the formal Exception of a few Persons, that were not the greatest Criminals. They knew that those Exceptions could be of no effect for exemplary Justice and Security, as the Convention intended.

The Chief Crimes committed in those late Reigns, both in the Councils and Courts of Justice, were Treasons at the Common Law, and tryable in Parliament only, (being of a more pernicious nature than those specified in the Statutes) and these Offenders with their Adherents of lesser guilt, should have been reserved for their Tryals in Parliament, and Penalties to have been set by them, and exempted from the Power of the K. to pardon, as in such Cases has been usual.

But the Exception made of a few, such as they are, without naming or distinguishing their Crimes, without enacting any

Course for their prosecution, and without Exemption from Common Pardons at pleasure, could amount to no more than to make the People hope in vain for some Vindication of publick Justice.

Time has shewed the Craft of this Contrivance by the Indemnity of all the Persons excepted, that are not since in Rebellion against our K. No Process has issued against any of them, not a penny of their Estates, nor one hair of their heads hath been touched; and several of them have ever since sat in the House of Lords, as our Legislators.

Lord Lieut. Sir, If you will have my Opinion of the K. his Bill of Grace, I think they deceived him to weaken his own Interest, under a specious shew to strengthen it.

All the Enemies to K. William his coming to the Throne became bold and active to subvert him, and assuming to themselves to be the best and strongest Party, they would scarce suffer any thing to be done, but by their advices; and all his Affairs were so managed, that scarce any thing had good Success.

They counselled him to hazard his Royal Person in a dangerous War in Flanders, while the War raged in Ireland, and the Desolations there daily increased. They knew the Troops could not be recalled from Ireland, unless the Protestants of that Kingdom had been armed, as they had often petitioned; and that therefore the Number of the Troops, that he could carry from his own Kingdom must be small, and yet their Advices would not suffer him to give Arms to those Protestants, which would have enabled him to have made use of most of those forces in Ireland against France.

The Issue of that Campaign of 1691. I need not tell you, it is too well known, that the strong City of Mons was lost to the French K. to strengthen his Frontiers, and that the French Braves boasted, that they dare to charge the Rear of our Confederates in their breaking up the Campaign.

I know not by what Councils the Affairs at Sea that Year were directed, and the Officers chosen; but this I know, that the Success of the Fleet was no better than that

that of our *Armies at Land*, and by all our Expence both of Blood and Treasure, the Power of France was rather increased than diminished.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, Pray let me mind your Lordship of what I observed in our *House of Commons*, after the K. had been advised to go for *Flanders*: They to pressed upon the House to hasten the money-Bills, that they gave us no time to think of our own Safety in his absence.

Many of us saw the danger of the Government from the Persons put in Authority after the Act of Grace, and offered a provision of the lowest security, that all admitted into their Majesty's Service, should subscribe a Declaration, That their Majesties were, are, and of right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, our Sovereign Liege Lord and Lady K. and Q. but by divers Artifices under pretence of Haste, that Bill was evaded, and our secret Enemies left to play their Game, whilst our K. was abroad.

Then, my Lord, the mysterious Constructions of the Oath of Allegiance, which some advisers (false to the Government) had only whispered, began to be made publick, whereby they would have taken off all the binding Powers of that Oath to our K. and Q.

It was first infilled into the Clergy's heads, and they began to appear in some places in combined Numbers before the Sessions of the peace, where they were bound to take it, demanding Allowance to put their own perverted Sense upon the Oaths, and to Enter it upon Record.

They invented the Notional Distinction between a K. *de facto* & *de Jure*, of a K. in Fact, and a K. in Right, allowing no more to our K. than to have unjustly got the Possession of the Crown, without Right or Title, and maintaining the Right to be in K. James. *

Thence they taught that the taking the Oath of Allegiance to our K. and Q. was no acknowledgment of their Right to the Crown, nor inconsistent with the Oaths, they had taken to K. James, and that the power that our K. and Q. had gained made it lawful to swear Allegiance to them and

obey them whilst K. J. is unable to protect them, provided they did nothing against his Right.

† To the same purpose they cryed up the Statute of the 11 H. 7. which enacted, that it should not be Treason to follow a K. in possession, and therefore advised K. James's Officers and Friends, that they might without danger of Treason take Employments under K. William until they should have a time to appear for their true K.

And to undermine our K's true Title, they set up for him false claims, which served only to keep up questions about his Title, and to insinuate, that he had no Legal Right to the Crown. For that Reason they boldly Printed a Claim for him by absolute Conquest, and procured from the Court to have it published by Authority. ‖

There was also a former Treatise by the Right Reverend the Bishop of St. Asaph Printed, and dispersed, called, *God's ways of disposing Kingdoms*, to justify the Crown to have been disposed of by God to our K. by the means of his Sword.

And to avoid our Laws for his Settlement, another pretence of Divine Right was also set up under the airy Notion of a Deliverer.

Yet none of these New Attempts to subvert our K's Title to the Crown by the Laws of the Realm, have been thought fit to be Prosecuted, nor any man indicted for them tho they were manifestly design'd to subvert our Fundamental Laws declared in this Revolution, and the Right and Property of every Man's Estate in England.

And as they thus used various Artifices to render our K's Title uncertain, either from God or Man, slighting and decrying the plain contrast between our K. and Q. and the people by their Representatives, so they industriously obstructed a Declaration of the particular Tyrannies of K. James, whereby it might have been manifest to all the World, that he renounced and abdicated his Office of an English Legal K. to be an absolute Tyrant, that had all our Laws in his Breast to suspend the Execution of them as he thought fit.

* *Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance to Sovereign Powers.* † *Vide The Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession.* 1 & 2 part. ‖ *Vid. An Answer to Mr. Ashton's Paper.* Whilst

Whilest they could avoid such a Declaration, they thought K. J's Case would never be desperate, and the Sufferings under him would slide out of Memory, and in a little time they might dare to compare (as they now do by printed Papers) the times of his Reign with the present, to delude the people.

Lord Lieut. Sir, There is another Art hath been used to weaken our K's Title, which you have not mentioned; they have dexterously avoided the matter of the supposed Prince of Wales, and would not suffer it to be brought into Parliament, that the Imposture might have been there proved, and declared to all the World.

From thence occasion is taken to move pity to that poor Innocent Prince, as they call him, suggesting, that he might have been bred a Protestant, and all contests quieted about the Succession to the Crown, and the grounds of a perpetual War avoided, whereby they indeavoured to cool the peoples Affections towards our K. and keep them in doubts of New Revolutions.

Depi. Lieut. My Lord, I see so much Treachery in the whole management of the K's affairs, that scarce have I patience to think of any more particulars. The whole Administration is put into such hands as would make a Man believe, that a design is deeply and strongly laid to bring back K. James; most of the Justices of the Peace throughout ENGLAND, (whose faithful Execution of the Laws is the Strength of the Government,) are now such as would certainly be ready to bid him welcome, and many of them so scandalous in their very Morals, that the Q. was constrained by Proclamation to order the Execution of the Laws against Debauchery even amongst themselves.

And my Lord, to prove that the powers of the Militia are in no better hands, I shall need no other proof, than to pray your Lordship to look over your own List.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I think we may conclude, without looking further into the management, that if those who advise our K. in his Administration had not been false to his Interest, the Kingdom might have now been free from the Trouble and charge of Raising the Militia, as we are Commanded.

I know not whether we are able any

C

way to secure either their Majesties, or our selves. I see by the Gazetts and Proclamations, that the Q. and her Council know not how far this Conspiracy doth extend. Several of the Lords of our House are in hold under the Charge of the Treason; divers of the Officers of her Majesties present Guards and other Troops are secured; some that were lately in great Command in the Army, are now in the Tower; divers both Lords and others are fled; and, as I hear, great Numbers are suspected to have waited for the Landing of the French, to have shewn themselves in Arms against their Majesties; and in short, there is too much reason to fear a general Revolt of most in Authority, if their Service should be wanted against K. James.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, I begin to doubt whether the Q. hath had faithful Advice to command the Raising the Militia every where upon this Alarm. It shews to all her Enemies, that we are in Great Fear, it increases the Births and Vexations of the people, it renders K. James's party more considerable than I hope they are: And I see no safety to be expected from it whilest it is under such Command, and out of a Method long lookt for from the Parliament, to make it Easie and Useful.

Lord Lieut. Sir, I can give you no judgment of this Advice, save only that it is suitable to all the rest which hath been to make a shew of preserving this Government, but in Truth to keep it unsettled, and to preserve K. James's pretences alive among the people, and at last to perwade them there is a necessity for his return, France being too Potent for us, and neither safety nor trad. to be hoped for without Peace with him; and to be plain, I doubt that all the Advices given to the K. about the Management of this War, have tended to the same purpose. I can never believe it had been otherwise possible that the K. should have been advised to have made a War upon France by Land, when the experience of all Ages hath proved, that this Island could neither be safe nor free without absolute Dominion of our Seas.

The K's advisers could not be ignorant of our Ancient Histories, that whensoever any Neighbour Nation could make their Ships (such pittiful things as they then

then were) more Numerous than ours. this Island was harried, Robbed and Spoiled, just as we are now frighned, and in Fine forced to receive new Masters.

'Tis notorious, that the Romans, Danes, Saxons, and Normans, by the help of their Ships, became Masters of this Kingdom.

Those Advisers could not but know, that all our former Princes (till Charles the II. betrayed us) were so jealous of the French getting at Sea, that they durst not attempt, until Hen. 4. perfuming upon the Friendship of Q. Eliz. they began to build a Ship of Force; yet a Message was soon sent him, that if he did not desist, it should be burnt in his Harbour.

They could not but understand, that if our Seas were absolutely commanded by us, the K. might have been out of danger of exposing his Person in War, and we might have sat in Safety, laughing at all the designs that the Council of France could invent against us.

Doubtless, they knew that the French King could neither have had Money, Men nor Arms to offend his Neighbours, if the many Millions of Money given by Parliament since this Revolution had been spent in Naval Forces, put into skilful and faithful hands, which had applied themselves to prevent the Trade of the French with other Nations.

It would have cost us less than the Money given to have sent out yearly a Royal Fleet of a hundred Sail for our defence and glory, as early in the Spring as was needful, and over and above to have hired a hundred Sail of the best Merchants to have been wholly employed to destroy their Fishing in New-found-Land, and their Interest in America, to have crushed their Villanous Privateers, and have burnt the Ships of Trade in all their Harbours.

This alone had secured Europe from the French Tyranny, given Safety, Peace and Trade to England, and made him send K. James to a Convent to do Penance for the Ills he hath done.

These Advisers could not but know, that the Strength and Wealth of England could never have been lessened by a War against the French at-Sea (unless some special anger of God had been shewn against us) our Country could have afforded better

Ships, and Men, and Commanders, for the Sea than was possible for the French K. to have provided, there had been a perpetual Spring to supply our Expences, the Moneys had returned, as it were, in a Circle, unto the Gentlemen, Trademen and Mariners, because the Beef, the Pork, the Bread, the Pease, the very cloaking of the Seamen, had been of our own growth and manufacture, and the more Ships had been equipped for Sea, the more had Trade and the price of our Commodities been advanced, and our force had been increased by using it, in regard more of our laborious Youth would have applied themselves to the Sea-Affairs upon such Encouragement, and increase of their Numbers would naturally and necessarily have promoted Trade and Power, and made all Nations court our Friendship.

Surely, these could not have been forgotten, having been so lately proved by these, who pursued this course, who were without Right and Title to the Government and yet were submitted to by all the World.

But on the contrary, these Advisers must needs understand, that when they counselled the K. to war against France at Land, it must be upon very unequal Terms, both of expence and hazard.

He could not transport his Men without great charge, and must suffer the delays and dangers of the Winds and Seas; He must exhaust his own Kingdom's money to maintain his Troops abroad and to be spent amongst Foreigners for the provisions of his Army; he must expect to lose many of our Englishmen by the sudden change of Climate, Air and Diet, and the Ignorance of providing for themselves amongst Foreigners.

In all misfortunes and accidents of War he must want all sudden assistance from his Subjects; he can have no Recruits in his greatest necessities, unless the Winds and Seas shall favour him; and his Troops may be utterly destroyed, before it may be possible for him to be relieved, and they that gave the Advice know, that the people of the Country, that is the Stage of the War, are such bigoted Papists, as would rather cut the Throats of our English in such Case of Distress, than afford them the least Succour.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, You have made it so plain, that our K. cannot reasonably aspire to Greatness, Glory, or Splendor, otherwise than by gaining *Empire at Sea*; that it could be no mistake, but *VILL TREACHERY*, to advise him to suffer in his person all the hardships, accidents and dangers of a *Land War*, from whence he cannot hope for such advantages, either to himself or his Kingdom.

I have often asked the most knowing Men I could meet with, what benefit our K. or Kingdom could expect from this mighty War in *Flanders*, if it should succeed beyond most mens hopes? And the Answer I could ever get, hath been no more, than that we should *weaken* the Power of *France*. But I was bold to pursue my question, and ask, whether we thought so to beat him in *Flanders*, as that he should give us up his *Fleet*, and his *Naval Stores* to pacifie us, or whether we hope this Summer or the next, to gain his *Frontiers*, *Cities* and *Garrisons*, which it hath cost him near *Thirty Years* to compleat, and many *Millions* to fortifie; or was it designed to gain part of his Country from him; for the *English* to inhabit, or to over-run his whole Kingdom and possess the Crown of *France*, and to plant the *Protestant Religion* there by the *Hermaphrodite Swords* of *Papists* and *Protestants*?

To all this it was only said, that our K. is close in his *Councils*, but no doubt he hath some very great design; I could not forbear replying, that as far as I can discern, whoever put his Majesty upon winning *Towns* and *Territories* from *France*, and aspiring to the Crown of that Kingdom were the most desperate designers against the Peace, Liberty and Happiness of *England*, and the consequence of Prosperity therein, would be to change us from the most *Antient free Kingdom* in the World, to be a miserable *Province* of a K. of *France* under a *Foreign Army*.

I confess, my Lord, the only fair pretence for that War at Land is our K's *Engagements* to the *Confederates*. It must be agreed, that the *Confederates* ought to be assisted; but they could not complain, if our K. had used his Force against *France*, which had been fatal to him, if Right and

Prudent Councils had been taken.

For the whole *English* power in Conjunction with the *Dutch Naval Force*, to have been employed against *France* at Sea, to have cut off its Trade with all Nations, and destroyed his *Shipping*, he had never been able to send out Armies equal to the *Confederates*, nor to have kept his own people from *Mutinies* for want of bread.

He might have had work enough, and too much, to have watched and defended his *Harbours*, and his *Coasts*, from the *Inursions* and *Spoils*, that might have been made by our smaller Vessels, sometimes in one place and then in another, as the winds had permitted, and he might have been hindered of *Ammunitions* sufficient for any *Numerous Armies*.

This had been the most speedy and most certain Way to assist the *Confederates* by disabling *France* to resist their force; yet if it had not been thought assistance enough to those our Allies to have taken upon us the burthen of the War at Sea for our share, Contribution might have been sent them towards their Armies, and a fourth part of the Money we have expended in the Land-war, would have raised them more Men and Horse in their own Countries, than we have been able to send into *Flanders*.

I have heard some *Ministers* of the chief Princes of the *Confederacy* say, that their Masters wanted no Souldiers in their Countrys, if they had but Money.

Lord Lieut. I was satisfied almost from the beginning of this War, that the K. was too much advised by some that are false to his Interest, but I was never hopeless of some success, until I saw, the *Parliament Councils* in the way of its management declined.

They wisely advised such a Vigorous War; that he should enter into no Alliance with Prince or State, that should not make it one of the Articles of the Treaty, to break off all Commerce and Correspondence with *France*, and our K. gratically promised it, in Answer to their Address: and the *Dutch* and *English* began briskly to make Prize of all Ships they found Trading with the *French*, but in a short time a *Neutrality*, and a free Trade with them, (no doubt by some Treacherous Advice)

was, and ever since hath been *openly* allowed to the Kingdoms of Portugal, Denmark, and Sweden, the State of Venice, and others, whereby the Enemy is supplied with *Natural Stores* and Provisions of War, hath sent for all his *Native Commodities*, and Manufactures, and is enabled to maintain a War both by *Sea and Land*.

And for my part I do not understand, that his Armies are now *less Numerous*, than when the War *first* began; and 'tis manifest his Fleet is greatly increased, and much better Equipped, and his Ports richly supplied with *Trading Ships* taken from the Dutch and us, which are computed to amount to *thousands*; and I see no advantages that we have gained upon him, whence we should expect *greater Success* against him, than we have had *hitherto*.

Dep. Lieut. My Lord, it seems to me upon our whole Discourse, that some who have been *false* to our K's Interest, have had an Influence in the Management of *all his Affairs*, and have given him *false measures* of the State of this Kingdom, the Temper of its people, and its Interest, and have cunningly and falsely indeavoured to divide his Majesties and his Subjects Interests, and by Flatteries to lead him into the manner of Governing which he came to reform, and they have brought all his Affairs to such a State, that honest men know

not what to do for the service of their Majesties.

I am sure upon this meeting of your *Lieutenancy*, required by your Lordship, I dare not discourse of our dangers, which I take to be more from *Traitors* among our selves than from the French K. I suppose it will not now be long before they come. What is your Lordships pleasure to have done with them?

Lord Lieut. Sir, For this time I will only read the Letters and the Proclamation inclosed to me, and give them Orders to have the Regiments drawn forth, Viewed and Mustred, with Commands to be ready with Money and Ammunition, according to the Act of Parliament, when they shall be Commanded.

I will not make any Clamours by turning out Officers at present, but if there be any Invasion or Insurrection, I shall make bold, without acquainting our Court, to revoke the Commissions of many of the Deputy Lieutenants, and make such Deputies and Officers, as, to my knowledge, are True to their Majesties, and I doubt not to find our Country Men so true to their Majesties, their Religion and Liberties, as to make them *hollow* out of the Field such Officers as I shall discharge upon that occasion.

F I N I S.

